Miss- Citizens Council

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THE UGLY TRUTH

ABOUT

THE NAACP

AN ADDRESS BY

ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK

OF GEORGIA

BEFORE THE

55th ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

OF GEORGIA

HELD IN ATLANTA

Biographical Sketch of

EUGENE COOK

Attorney General of Georgia

AB, LLB Magna Cum Laude (Mercer University, Macon, Georgia).

LLD (John Marshall Law School, Atlanta, Georgia).

Member, Commission on Uniform State Laws.

Member, Interstate Cooperation Commission.

Member, Interstate Oil Compact Commission.

Past President, National Association of Attorneys General.

Past Member, House of Delegates, American Bar Association.

Past Member, Board of Governors, Council of State Governments.

Past Deputy and District Governor, Lions International.

Past President, Mercer University Alumni Association.

Past Member, Board of Trustees, Mercer University.

Past Vice President, Georgia Baptist Sunday School Convention.

Honorary Member, Exchange Clubs of the United States.

Twice Delegate to National Democratic Convention.

State Offices (23 consecutive years):

- Attorney General of Georgia (since August 22, 1945).
- State Commissioner of Revenue.
- Solicitor-General, Dublin Judicial Circuit (Georgia).
- Solicitor and Judge, City Court of Wrightsville, Ga.

Born April 12, 1904, at Wrightsville, Johnson County, Ga., son of James Monroe and Ida (Preston) Cook, grandson of W. W. and Mary Ann (Smith) Cook and of Charles Thomas and Mary Elizabeth (Boswell) Preston. Married Julia Adelaide McClatchey, June 1928, daughter of the late H. R. and Mrs. McClatchey (graduate, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga., Summa Cum Laude). Two sons, Eugene, Jr., and Charles McClatchey.

President Redding, Distinguished Guests and My Fellow Members of the Peace Officers Association of Georgia:

It is always a source of genuine personal satisfaction for me to have the opportunity of appearing before this group. Of all the organizations to which I have the privilege of belonging, none has accorded me a greater degree of support and cooperation than the Peace Officers Association of Georgia.

This rapport, I feel, is due principally to the fact that we share common professional objectives and personal convictions. As servants of our fellow citizens, we are made acutely aware of the grave responsibility inherent in protecting the rights and liberties of the people through vigorous and impartial enforcement of the law. As individuals charged with this solemn duty, we are able to see more clearly than others the threat to those rights and liberties posed by those who would substitute government by men for government by law.

It is because of your demonstrated discernment in this regard that I have chosen this occasion as the proper forum for revealing, for the first time, the authenticated details of the most ominous of these threats to arise during our lifetime. I refer to the subversive designs behind the current crusade of the misnamed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its fellow-traveling fronts to force upon the South the Communist-inspired doctrine of racial integration and amalgamation.

It shall be my purpose in this speech to totally disrobe the NAACP and to present this sinister and subtle organization in all its nakedness.

The ugly truth about the NAACP and its origin, aims and manipulators is so shocking as to stagger the imagination, but it is borne out by incontrovertible facts which can be established as matters of official record. These facts have been uncovered, checked, assembled and correlated through many weeks of intensive investigation and cooperative effort by my Staff and the Staffs of Congressman James C. Davis of Georgia and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

I am prepared to prove everything I shall say. And I wish to state for the benefit of those who

undoubtedly will attempt to smear me and discredit my findings and conclusions that I would welcome the opportunity to present the evidence I have in hand for determination before a trial jury in a court of law.

At the outset I wish to make it clear that the issue involved is one not of race but rather of subversion. None of the organizations which have exploited the race issue in this country has ever had the welfare of the negro people at heart. They have seized upon this issue as a convenient front for their more nefarious activities and as one with which they could dupe naive do-gooders, fuzzy-minded intellectuals, misguided clergymen and radical journalists to be their pawns.

The record shows that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was neither founded nor is presently directed by colored people. It was originated in New York City 46 years ago as the brain child of a Southern scallawag journalist and Russian-trained revolutionary named William E. Walling. Its principal personalities during its early years were descendants of the rabble-rousing abolitionists who fomented the strife which precipitated the War Between the States, a conflict which could have been avoided but for the activities of those abolitionists.

Of its five founders only one was a negro—a Communist-sympathizing lawyer named W. E. B. DuBois whose record of participation in Communist, Communist-front and subversive organizations and activities taken from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives requires eight pages of single-spaced typewritten copy to outline. Among his more recent activities of this nature was the donation of his services in the preparation of legal briefs defending since-executed Communist spies Julius and Ethyl Rosenberg and the imprisoned leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1953 he was awarded the International Peace Prize by the "Communist front" World Peace Council in recognition of his participation in the sponsorship of the series of Communist-dominated World Peace Conferences held since 1949 in an attempt to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

DuBois was Director of Research for the

NAACP until 1949 and now is referred to by its officers and members as the organization's "Honorary Chairman."

In addition to Walling and DuBois, the other NAACP founders—all white—were Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Socialist Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison; and Miss Mary Ovington White, also a descendant of an old-time abolitionist. The first president of the Association was a white Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, who was identified in his youth with the abolitionist movement and who served as secretary to the original race-baiter, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner.

From that day to this, South-hating white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with, and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling and subversive organizations, activities and causes have directed and subsidized the NAACP. Its present president, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York City, is a white man as are a large number of the current officers, directors and principal contributors.

The files of the House Un-American Activities Committee reveal records of affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations or activities on the part of the following present officials of the NAACP—the President, the Chairman of the Board, the "Honorary Chairman," 11 of 28 Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, 28 of 47 Directors, the Chairman of the National Legal Committee, the Executive Secretary, the Special Counsel, the Assistant Special Counsel, the Southeast Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries.

The transcript of this evidence numbers 121 pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy and would require more than six hours to be read aloud. Time being a factor, it is impossible to present all of this material; but, to give you an idea of the backgrounds and ideologies of the policy-making officials and personnel of the NAACP, I shall cite chapter and verse on the activities of this organization's principal personalities.

(The designations which I shall use in describing the organizations and activities with which these

individuals have been identified are those applied to them by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Special House Un-American Activities Committee.)

President Spingarn was a participant in the Conference on Africa held April 14, 1944, in New York City by the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs. In 1945 and 1946 he signed statements favoring the granting of Army commissions to Communists and opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes sponsored by the "viciously subversive" National Federation of Constitutional Liberties. He is listed as a sponsor of the "Communist front" Public Use of Arts Committee.

Board Chairman Channing H. Tobias was a member of the Executive Board and Co-Chairman of the New York Committee of the "Communist front" Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was charged in 1947 with "serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." He belonged, prior to 1949, to the "subversive and Communist" Council on African Affairs and was a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the "Protestant Digest"—a magazine which "has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line." He sponsored the "subversive and Communist" People's Institute of Applied Religion and the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief and was a member of the Executive Board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States." He has sponsored conferences and activities of the "viciously subversive" National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the "Communist front" New York State Conference on National Unity and the "subversive and Communist" American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the National Committee to Win the Peace.

Roy Wilkins—successor to the late Walter White as NAACP Executive Secretary—was quoted on June 17, 1936, by the New York Daily Worker, the official publication of the Communist Party in this country, as attaching "greatest significance" to the 1936 National Communist Party Convention and stating that the Communist Party's racial

program had had "a very wholesome effect" in the United States. He was further quoted by the Daily Worker on July 15, 1949, as boasting that he had voted in New York City elections that year for since-convicted Negro Communist Benjamin J. Davis. He is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." He was a sponsor of the "subversive and Communist" Conference on Pan American Democracy, and of a joint meeting in 1937 of the "subversive and Communist" American League Against War and Fascism and the "Communist front" American Friends of the Chinese People. He has spoken for the "subversive and Communist" International Labor Defense and the Workers' Alliance, the former of which is regarded as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" in this country.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall—the negro lawyer responsible for the NAACP's court attacks upon segregation in the public schools—as late as 1950 was a member of the Executive Board of the "Communist front" National Lawyers Guild which has been described as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." Since its inception, the Guild "has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." And, as a member and policy-making official of this Communist Front, Marshall has served as Associate Editor of the "Lawyers Guild Review" and has criticized this nation's loyalty program. He also is listed as a member of the National Committee of the "Communist front" International Juridical Association which has "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line." And he was among a group of attorneys who, in 1947, protested the issuance of contempt citations against pro-Communist Hollywood writers who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, Clarence M. Mitchell, protested against being asked whether he was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party at a hearing on pro-

posed legislation to outlaw the Communist Party held before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 3, 1950. Although he stoutly denied being a Communist, he was quoted as saying that such a question was "unfair" because it "immediately precludes from appearing before this Committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind." The transcript further quoted him as saying that: "Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party. They may want to come here and object to this bill, but, I suppose, if they had to answer that question, they very likely would not come."

Director of Public Relations Henry Lee Moon, the Association's propaganda chief, is listed as a member of the "subversive and Communist" Washington Book Shop and the likewise-designated National Negro Congress which is "the Communist-front movement in the United States among negroes." His book, "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," was praised by the Daily Worker and he was listed in 1949 as a nominee to be commentator for the "subversive and Communist" Voice of Freedom Committee.

Of the NAACP's 28 Vice Presidents, the following 11 have records of Un-American activities:

John Haynes Holmes, 23 citations; A. Philip Randolph, 20 citations; the late Mary McLeod Bethune (who still is listed as a vice president) and William Lloyd Imes, 16 citations each; Oscar Hammerstein, II, the composer, and Bishop W. J. Walls, seven citations each; Ira W. Jayne and L. Pearl Mitchell, two citations each; and Willard S. Townsend, T. G. Nutter and Grace B. Fenderson, one citation each.

Of the 47 members comprising the Association's Board of Directors, the following 28 have records of the Un-American activities:

Earl B. Dickerson, 25 citations; Algernon D. Black, 18 citations; Lewis Gannett, 15 citations; Roscoe Dunjee, 13 citations; S. Ralph Harlow and Chairman Channing H. Tobias, 10 citations each; William H. Hastie, nine citations; Hubert T. Delaney, eight citations; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, six citations; Robert G. Weaver, five citations; Buell G. Gallagher, four citations; President Arthur B. Spingarn, Earl

G. Harrison, James J. McClendon, Ralph Bunche, Allen Knight Chalmers and W. Montague Cobb, three citations each; J. M. Tinsley, Wesley W. Law of Savannah, Ga., Norman Cousins, Z. Alexander Looby, Harry J. Greene and Alfred Baker Lewis, two citations each; and H. Claude Hudson, Carl R. Johnson, A. Maceo Smith, James Hinton and Theodore M. Berry, one citation each.

Two other Vice Presidents and three other Directors are well-known apologists for left-wing causes. The two Vice Presidents are Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Industry. The three Directors are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, CIO President Walter Reuther and Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York.

Other officers of the NAACP with Un-American activity records are:

Lloyd Garrison, chairman, National Legal Committee, five citations; Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers and Branch Department Director Gloster B. Current, three citations each; Southeast Regional Secretary Ruby Hurley, West Coast Regional Secretary Franklin H. Williams, Field Secretary Madison S. Jones and Assistant Special Counsel Robert L. Carter, two citations each; and Field Secretary Tarea Hall Pittman, one citation.

But of all the NAACP officials and policy-makers listed in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, none has a record as notorious as that of W. E. B. DuBois to whom I have previously referred as one of the founders and present "Honorary Chairman" of the Association. No less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist-front and subversive activity are entered against his name—the latest of which was the statement he issued upon the death of Joseph Stalin reading: "Let all negroes, Jews and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin."

Yet this same W. E. B. DuBois was one of the "modern scientific authorities" whose writings were accepted by the United States Supreme Court as the basis for its decision of May 17, 1954, prohibiting segregation in the public schools. DuBois contributed to 82 different portions of the book, "An American Dilemma," which was cited in its

entirety by the Supreme Court as an authority for its ruling.

And, speaking of that decision, let me emphasize in passing that 15 other contributors to "An American Dilemma" also have lengthy records of pro-Communist activity in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee. The same thing is true of two of the six individual authorities cited by the High Court—Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier—who between them have been members of or identified with 28 organizations declared to be Communist, Communist fronts or Communist dominated.

Another of the six individual authorities cited by the Supreme Court—K. B. Clark—was, at the time of the arguments before the Court, on the payroll of the NAACP as a so-called "social-science expert."

These records of individual officials and members of the NAACP are not the only source of proof of the subversive influences on and in that organization.

Elizabeth Dilling reported in her book, "The Red Network," that, during the seven years from 1923 to 1930, the NAACP received some $43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She also disclosed that the official report of the Fourth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1925 stated that "the Party had penetrated the NAACP."

Official records show that the NAACP has consistently affiliated itself with Communist and left-wing movements.

It was a member of the American Youth for a Free World which was organized in 1942 and, in 1948, was described by the California Un-American Activities Committee as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1951 Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications described the AYFW as "a Communist clearing house."

In 1945, the NAACP sent its Branch Department Director, Gloster Current, to London as an official delegate representing the Association at the founding of the World Federation of Democratic

Youth. This Federation was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 as "part of the Communist International 'solar system.' "

A report made at a meeting of the Communist Party of the United States on July 16, 1946, showed that the NAACP was one of a group of left-wing organizations invited by the National Committee of the Communist Party to a meeting held in Chicago to form a "third party." That report, as detailed on pages 150-151 of the 1947 Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, lists the NAACP as an active participant in the conference at which the Progressive Citizens of America was formed.

And earlier this month, according to the United Press, the NAACP picketed a hearing on Communist propaganda conducted in Chicago by Senator Eastland for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

A pamphlet outlining the Program of the Communist Party of the United States, published in September 1954 by New Century Publishers of New York City, made specific reference on Page 22 to a link between the Communist Party and the NAACP. It stated:

"We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight . . . for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Former Negro Communist Foster Williams, Jr., testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee about this matter on June 17, 1954, in Seattle, Wash. He said:

"The Communist Party very sneakily manipulates the negro people for their own purposes . . . The NAACP has had this trouble."

The racial aims of the Communist Party of the United States and those of the NAACP are virtually identical. The Communist program, as reported in the May 26, 1928, issue of the Daily Worker, calls for:

"Full racial equality.

"Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of negroes.

"Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

"Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, negro children from attending general public schools or universities.

"Full and equal admittance of negroes to all waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels and theaters."

Those are the identical demands being made today, 27 years later, by the NAACP.

On the basis of the evidence now in hand—a minute portion of which I have related to you this afternoon—no other conclusion can be drawn but that the NAACP is being used as a front and tool by subversive elements in this country. Either knowingly or unwittingly, it has allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states.

Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and negro races in the South and is disrupting relations between these races which heretofore have been—and at present are—harmonious and friendly in every respect. These activities, carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of international Communism.

The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene—the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Education Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization.

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names,

reputations and services of well-intentioned do-gooders. It is composed of some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic

Investigations currently are being made of all three organizations—the results of which will greatly embarrass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council.
to disavow their programs and leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean.

The activities of the NAACP and its local fronts pose a serious threat to the peace, tranquillity, government and way of life of our State. And for that reason it is my intention to present the evidence which already has been, and currently is being, compiled about the subversive nature of these activities to the 1956 session of the General Assembly of Georgia convening next January for appropriate action by the elected representatives of the people of this State.

In the meantime I pledge the full resources of my office to the enforcement of all existing State laws and constitutional provisions relating to subversive activities and our traditional pattern of race relations. And, toward that end, I solicit—and know I can count on the full support and cooperation of you, the peace officers of Georgia.

I thank you.

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